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TABLE 10. SCALE OF MONTHLY RATIONS FOR INDIANS ON RELIEF[14]

Item	One Adult	Two Adults
Flour (Canada approved)	24 lbs.	36 lbs.
Rolled oats	6 lbs.	9 lbs.
Baking powder	1 lb.	1½ lbs.
Tea	1 lb.	1½ lbs.
Sugar	2 lbs.	4 lbs.
Lard	3 lbs.	5 lbs.
Beans	5 lbs.	5 lbs.
Rice	2 lbs.	3 lbs.
Cheese	1 lb.	1½ lbs.
Dried milk	2 lbs.	3 lbs.
Salt	15¢ to 20¢ per month	
Matches	15¢ to 20¢ per month	

who, because of age or widowhood, are presumed to be unable to trap sufficient furs to maintain themselves. Lacking even such essentials as soap and dried fruit, these rations are evidently expected to be supplemented by meat and fish supplied by relatives or friends or caught in rabbit snares. The allotment is bitterly criticized by most Indians.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing is used for protection and modesty but relatively little attention is paid to dress as a channel for expressing vanity. Although new and attractive clothes are greatly valued by girls, only one or two young women are characterized by any demonstrable narcissism in this respect. Most women are not careful in the way they dress, change clothes relatively infrequently (although more often than men), and wear garments that are stained, worn, and ill fitting.

In summer men wear two piece suits of knitted cotton underwear with long sleeves and drawers. Over this are trousers of cotton duck or worsted, and a flannel shirt with long sleeves. The trousers are often khaki colored, the shirt blue or gray. The collar is left open and in very warm weather several additional buttons of the shirt and undershirt are undone. Trousers are supported by a leather novelty belt which is often quite wide and gaudily studded. Heavy woolen socks are worn over ankle high leather boots which are usually laced from the outside in, instead of from inside out. A few of the older men wear slipper moccasins.

A wide variety of headgear is fancied.[15] Young men are attracted to "cowboy" hats or wide brimmed Stetsons, Older men usually wear disfigured snap brim felt hats. Other types of headgear appear and disappear as fads take hold. In 1944, Tahltan Indian youths from

[14] The list is dated January 3, 1944. Children under twelve years receive half this ration. "This ration," the list reads, "is set by the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa and merchants must not change either the quantities or commodities without written permission from the local Indian Agent."

[15] In conversation, Dr. Cornelius Osgood has pointed out that a taste for novelty in headgear seems to be characteristic of aboriginal and contemporary Northern Athapaskans and is also found in the Northwest Coast. For some types of headgear see Plate 2.

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291 Telegraph Creek were distinguished by their homemade white canvas sailor caps. In the
292 early summer of 1945, most Kaska youths were wearing these caps, a number being sold by
●178 local Tahltan families at two dollars apiece. In August of that year, a new fad appeared when Kaska girls began to make caps of blue cotton cloth shaped like the overseas caps worn by the American Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force. During the warmest part of the day men and boys may go hatless.

291 In winter men don heavier woolen underwear and woolen trousers. Leather shoes are now abandoned in favor of large moccasins supplied with an ankle wrap of canvas. These are worn with one or two pairs of woolen socks and blanket duffel. A heavy woolen shirt, with a sweater or purchased parka, are also worn. The most common winter hat is made by covering heavy broadcloth with beaver skin, and is provided with large flaps which, when let down, protect the ears and face (Pl. 5, A). Large mittens, with a wide cuff covering the lower end of the sleeves, are always worn when traveling. In spring, when the ground is wet, ankle high rubber shoes are common.

Summer garb for women includes flannel bloomers and either a flannel undershirt, rayon slip, or blouse. Corsets and girdles are not used, although Mrs. Maza was attracted by these garments in the illustrated mail order catalog and expressed the desire to buy a girdle. She thought it would help her to feel better. On top of these undergarments is worn a cotton dress, which in younger girls is tucked into cotton or worsted slacks. During a period when women's slacks were difficult to purchase, several girls wore men's black trousers. A bright colored blouse is generally added over these garments and sometimes also tucked into the slacks. Older women, however, may wear two long dresses, or an extra skirt and blouse. Old Lady Metła always wore a pair of men's trousers under her skirt and petticoat.[10] While some younger girls go without stockings, the majority wear mercerized flesh colored hose or black ribbed cotton stockings. Low or medium heel oxfords are the most common type of footwear, except among older women who wear moccasins with canvas ankle wraps. Girls often go hatless; older women cover the head with a rayon scarf. In winter these basic garments, except for the shoes, remain the same, although for traveling heavier slacks may be put on. Black ribbed stockings, sometimes worn double, are common in cold weather and there is added a woolen or poplin windbreaker or heavy woolen sweater. Wide duffel moccasins and duffel mitts, both worn with blanket duffel, are standard winter garb. Headgear consists of a woolen scarf which may also be wrapped around the neck.

Young boys wear knitted wool-cotton undergarments plus overalls or long trousers and a flannel or cotton shirt. In summer, moccasins and oxfords are seen less often than rubber overshoes. Young girls wear flannel bloomers and a shirt covered with a cotton dress. Cotton stockings and oxfords or moccasins complete their ensemble. In cold weather, children of both sexes don woolen overalls, black ribbed cotton stockings, a sweater or doeskin cloth windbreaker, wool toque, commodious moccasins, and mittens lined with duffel.

Little variation in dress is observed corresponding to moderate changes in temperature. Summer garments are worn till quite late in the fall, eventually with the addition of a jacket or windbreaker. In summer, a jacket or sweater is sometimes added toward evening. When

[10] According to Nitła, Pelly River Indian women wear "breeches" instead of bloomers under their skirts.

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stopping in Lower Post following employment with a government survey party. While the legally worded charge was being read the accused unthinkingly turned his back on the magistrate. For this he was sharply rebuked. Pleading guilty, the youth was questioned concerning the source of the liquor. He affirmed that soldiers had given him a bottle of rum. The magistrate sarcastically remarked that such generosity to Indians was difficult to understand, since most soldiers were themselves short of liquor. He then imposed a fine of fifteen dollars and costs, and adjourned court while the defendant, in company with the provincial policeman, went to friends trying to borrow the money. The boy came to the ethnographer's cabin and there found Daisy Joe, an Indian woman, whose common law husband was a white man. The policeman had recently caught this woman in the company of her husband carrying a gunny sack of beer. Now, suffering from severe toothache, she was uneasily waiting to see if her offense would also come to trial. When the boy asked Daisy (a nonrelative) for money, the policeman became suspicious and remarked: "Maybe that's where you bought the liquor!" This accusation was firmly denied by both parties as well as by Daisy's white husband.

Trials are conducted so as to be punitive as well as judicial. Several times we heard the magistrate making an attempt to frighten the Indians from drinking. There is no question but that the people are afraid of court proceedings, although they are never sufficiently intimidated to reveal the true sources from which liquor is secured. Thereby they protect their access to those sources. Most of the time court proceedings are conducted on a level of formality and a plain of experience quite foreign to the Indians. The efforts of the magistrate to command respect and proper courtroom demeanor are both pitiful and amusing.

Ingroup Relations

In this section, cooperative action and conflict within the Kaska nation as a whole is considered. In the section immediately following discussion will take up relations between Kaska and non-Kaska individuals.

It is in keeping with the atomistic character of Kaska society that cooperation within a tribe or within the nation as a whole should be unknown. No mechanisms for bringing about the unified functioning of these groups are available and group sentiment is transient and ephemeral. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the development of social policies has scarcely gained even a foothold in the group. About thirty-five years ago, under the direction of a white man, James Teit, the Kaska were involved in an attempt to further group interests by supporting a social ideology.[21] The movement was directed toward the preservation of the Indians' right to trap anywhere in the country without being confined to registered trap lines, which were at that time being introduced in British Columbia. As the first task of implementing this social policy, the Indians contributed money which was to be used to institute legal proceedings. Teit, however, is alleged to have absconded with the funds collected. At any rate, the policy met with no success. Even in this group movement, as reported by Old Man, we can detect the spirit of individualistic opportunism at work. "We're trapping Yukon side. White man tell us, 'Yukon trappers put up five dollars. B. C. trappers put up one hundred dollars.' They do that. Old Chief put up five hundred

[21] We have adopted this term from Kardiner who uses it to refer to "a system of ideas which seeks implementation by action to gain or preserve certain interests," Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 371.

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In contrast to the enthusiasm invested in the preparations for the party, there was very little emotional display at the meal itself, and several signs were observed of people being ill at ease. Thus it was necessary for Louis Maza repeatedly to urge people to go into the house and eat. Except among some old men, there was little sign of gaiety or festivity. As each man filed into the building he removed his hat and silently took his place. Conversation during the meal was slight.

Plans to revive the old fashioned potlatch dance were not fulfilled. A number of older people were finally persuaded to line up and execute a few movements, but this behavior was not spontaneous and the embarrassed laughter of the younger folks apparently disconcerted the dancers.

After having eaten, the guests gathered outside the house where two fires were built against the chill of the evening. Five gallons of coffee were heating alongside one fire. Louis Maza several times distributed cigars and cigarettes around the two circles of guests as well as oranges to the children, who were enjoying a riotous time. After the dishes had been washed by the women of the Wolf sib, the guests reentered the house to retrieve their cups, plates, and tableware. Considerable confusion resulted in this distribution and many people were unable to find their own objects. Even Louis Maza lost several of his own utensils, all of which suggests that some people, who had not come with tableware, went home with utensils not belonging to them.

On the day following the potlatch meal, a number of Crow people returned to Louis' house where his wife and her sisters distributed packages of food, tins of jam that had never been touched, fruit, and cake left over from the party.

The second potlatch on July 13 was designed as a return party by the Crow moiety. Louis placed himself in charge of the preparations and was assisted by his father-in-law. The cooking and serving were undertaken by Dorothy Plover, her cousin, and the ethnographer, who was conventionally designated as a Crow. The food was cooked in the residence of a white trader and transported to the potlatch in Louis Maza's boat. In Louis' house it was kept warm on the stove. The potlatch this time began at one o'clock in the afternoon and was completed by six o'clock. Behavior held to the same emotional tenor that was described for the first party except that considerable amusement was furnished by the several white trappers who attended while intoxicated but who caused no trouble. No attempt was made to introduce dancing, although a social dance in Liard Tom's house was announced as a part of the festival and took place later in the evening.

Music. The only musical instruments played by the Kaska are the violin and guitar. Many men are accomplished "fiddlers," while most boys and girls can play accompaniments on the guitar. All musical ability is patiently self-taught and is motivated by the individual's personal desire to learn. A new tune is generally picked up by listening to a Tahltan Indian visitor play it. The Tahltan, in turn, learn new melodies by listening to the recorded words and music. Such double, and sometimes triple, transmission by ear results in a melody often being considerably altered from its original form. The most popular tunes include: "I Know What It Means to be Lonely," "Take Me Back to Tulsa," "My Dixie Darling," "Wabash Cannonball," "Red River Valley," and "You Are My Sunshine." These are not only played at dances but are often sung or whistled around town and camp. Local Tahltan

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155 approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

155 A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situa-
851 tions develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her
855 child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[30] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

754 At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival
182 imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been
154 mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new ill-
178 nesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

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[30] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).

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managed. For an assertive and basically confident people these problems would perhaps not have been too catastrophic. Kaska resourcefulness, however, is limited to relatively familiar situations or those which do not require a prodigious expenditure of energy and too severe a disruption of normal routines. In novel critical situations the Indian reveals a tendency to passivity and procrastination. These behaviors, totally inadequate as defenses in the acculturation situation, simply aggravated adaptive crises when they were applied to hunting, illness, and trapping. The inevitable result was the arousal of secondary frustration and anxiety.

It was this anxiety, leading to interpersonal difficulties and hostility (which the Kaska are unable to express directly) which was the condition predisposing the society to a favorable reception of witch-fear. Sickness, always a conflict situation for a people dependent on mobility to survive, was the area in which the introduced pattern became readily integrated. Witch-fear solved the emotional problems of frustration and anxiety by offering a channel for the discharge of their derived hostility.

Although this was the general predisposing condition facilitating the reception of witchcraft, certain structural congruities to witchcraft must not be overlooked.[21] Without an awareness of the possibility of effecting malevolence sympathetically or contagiously, such as existed in the former belief in sorcery, witchcraft would have had greater difficulty in taking hold. Torture also had a place in the aboriginal way of life, enemy captives taken in intertribal warfare having been even more callously treated than were suspected witches. Finally the social structure of the group must be regarded as having been functionally related to the introduced attitudes by making it possible for suspicion and fear to exist between even proximate relatives and neighbors.

Kaska society has always been marked by extreme atomism with a minimum of social identification extending beyond the family. Even within the family authority was weak but deference highly emphasized. Cooperation was rare and always on an individualistic and voluntary basis. The largest and best definable unit of social structure beyond the family was the mobile band having the nuclear family as the center around which were grouped grandparents, sons-in-law and, occasionally, other relatives. Such bands were sociologically cemented by the emotional bonds of primary kinship relations. Beyond these bonds affinal kinship, personal friendship, congeniality, and common membership in an exogamous moiety[22] operated to maintain social relations, but such

[21] We here use "structural" in somewhat the same sense that Kluckhohn has spoken of "structural analysis" as "an investigation of 'functional dependencies'" or "the interrelation of parts" of a culture, but excluding those psychological factors which are commonly referred to "personality." This is functionalism in Radcliffe-Brown's rather than Malinowski's sense of the term. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 45; Radcliffe-Brown, 1946.)

[22] Dual organization did not extend to the eastern Nelson Indians and probably not to the Espato-tena.